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Report No. 408

June 12, 1953

OUTSTANDING MAGAZINE ARTICLES RELATING TO  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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This weekly report presents digests of current magazine editorials and articles of special pertinence to U.S. foreign relations--but does not necessarily mirror over-all opinion.

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DIVISION OF PUBLIC STUDIES

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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OUTSTANDING MAGAZINE ARTICLES RELATING TO  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE PROGRESSIVE - June

"The Heart of the Matter" (editorial)

As disturbing as the "Administration's surrender to the worst element in Congress" is "the speed with which the President, and more glaringly his Sec. of State, have kicked away the political and moral leadership in world affairs which Mr. Eisenhower's notable address to the editors had won for America and the free world." Pravda's call for "businesslike" talks on troublesome problems left the next move up to us. Our reply has been to point a mocking finger at the invasion of Laos. However, "the issues in Indochina are not nearly so black-and-white as we sometimes like to pretend." The French have exploited the miserable people there and have behaved abominably. They refuse to place the conflict before the UN because they fear "debate on their whole corrupt program of colonialism." It is not unreasonable to guess that the Communist invasion of Laos was halted at the insistence of Moscow or Peiping or both. "If the Eisenhower Administration gave this possibility a passing thought, it gave no sign. Even if the Kremlin's peace talk turns out to be a total fraud we will have weakened out leadership of the West unless we show a greater willingness to engage in give-and-take negotiations.

"The Attack On the UN" - Ralph J. Bunche

Viewed in world terms the struggle for freedom and morality and the preservation of peace is more ideological than military. We delude ourselves if we assume as some are inclined to do, that it is might alone which impresses the Asians and to which they respond." As we win recruits to the causes we espouse the necessity of even having to rely exclusively upon our own military resources becomes less probable. Those who embrace isolationism are short-sighted and wrong. The international ideals and objectives of the UN are the same as ours. The UN seeks peace, freedom, equality among peoples, security of all peoples against aggression. The UN should not be spared criticism, but those who are raising a hue and cry in the U.S. now make no constructive suggestions. "They are zealous wreckers but seldom builders." Any nation that left the UN and tried to go it alone would lose much and gain little.

BUSINESS WEEK - June 6

"Neglecting the Good Neighbors"

Some fresh thinking on our relations with Latin America is urgently needed. Our preoccupation with conditions in Europe and Asia has obscured the fact that all is not well among the Good

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BUSINESS WEEK (Contd.)

Neighbors. Signs of distrust and fear of the U.S. are everywhere south of the border. Economic difficulties are at the root of most troubles. Latin Americans feel that they are at the mercy of the U.S. economy, a feeling that has allowed the Communists and other anti-Americans to act as the spearheads of dangerous and destructive nationalist movements. The Kremlin will gain a priceless--and bloodless--victory if our ties with Latin America deteriorate to the point where our friends decide to follow the path of strict neutrality.

To neglect Latin America would be error enough. To rub salt in open wounds would be fatal, yet we have been doing that--imposing additional duty on Uruguayan wool tops, trying to restrict imports of Venezuelan oil. We still have friends, but it would be suicidal to take them for granted, as we have done for years. Our propaganda program is almost non-existent and our failure to appoint new diplomatic representatives would appear as an open insult in any other area of the world. President Eisenhower has promised to review Latin American policy, and the goodwill trip of Dr. Milton Eisenhower may repair some of the damage already done, but goodwill and diplomacy will not succeed unless the U.S. businessman does his part to improve our position in Latin America. We welcome the initiative taken by the new Administration on the diplomatic front and trust our businessmen will follow its lead in diagnosing hemisphere problems and finding a cure for them.

AMERICA - June 6

"Religion on the 'Voice'" (Current Comment)

Lately the religious content of VOA broadcasts has been noticeably stepped up. Dr. R.L. Johnson is convinced that VOA has shown excessive timidity about religion up to now. It seems legitimate for VOA to reflect the religious life of this nation, whose voice it is supposed to be. This new religious policy of the IIA will ensure a more realistic reflection of U.S. than the VOA's previous policy. It should also be more effective. The innovation, we hope, will result in a general toning up, not only of the specifically religious accents of the Voice, but of its spiritual emphases generally.

"Cut the Red Tape on Imports" (Week by Week)

So far as foreign-trade policy goes, the Customs Simplification bill ranks in importance with bills dealing directly with tariff schedules. Recently an attache of a friendly legation informed us that his country's business interests were more concerned at the movement over our customs regulations than over our tariff rates. In many cases, under the RTA Act, our tariff walls have been knocked down to the point where in a number of lines foreign business men can compete for the U.S. market. What

AMERICA (Contd.)

transferring goods to a U.S. buyer. Ten years ago a Belgian industrialist exporting to the U.S. employed four men for the paperwork involved in shipping his product to a U.S. port. Today he hires 47 men to process the same shipment. Since the Administration has already given up the fight for lower tariffs this year, the Customs Simplification bill becomes more important than ever. It is the only liberalization of our import policies we can offer for the present to discouraged European friends.

"Big Three Talks: A Pro Tem Prop" (editorial)

The Bermuda talks will be no more than a pro tem prop to keep the roof of Allied unity from caving in. The U.S. must provide the entire framework and scaffolding of the house. The walls--political structures of individual democracies--are shaky. In France, main Continental support of the coalition, the seventeenth cabinet since 1946 has collapsed. Could any conjunction of events have dramatized so sensationally the present incapacity of any French Govt. to bear the stress of binding commitments to Allied enterprises? Soon we shall know what chance Italian democracy has of measuring up. The Adenauer Govt. is target of a Socialist bid to unseat it, largely on foreign policy questions. In Britain the Conservatives hold on by the skin of their teeth. Let us not deceive ourselves. By indecision, by dealing indulgently with the termites of nationalism, isolationism, and "economy at any cost" and by giving every gimcrack architect a decisive voice, our Govt. has allowed the relatively strong structure of U.S. postwar foreign policy to develop alarming warps. We cannot blame our Allies for wondering whether this might not be the time to get out from under before the building crashes.

The internal troubles of democracies are all the same--political, not economic. The unnatural disruption of East-West trade has posed grave marketing problems. These problems could be reduced to manageable proportions--provided the democracies had the kind of political organizations capable of coping with them. Running our Federal Govt. today is a long roster of congressional committee chairmen, State party organizations, pressure groups and members of Congress acting as spokesmen. Soon the President must assert the political prerogatives of the U.S. Presidency. He must announce decisions and see to it that, consistently with those decisions, "measures adequate to the exigencies of the Union" are adopted forthwith.

THE NATION - June 6

"The Shape of Things" (editorial)

Since beginning of the Korean war The Nation has pointed out how seriously the Syngman Rhee regime compromised the whole action undertaken in the name of the UN. Today we reap the consequences of the blunders. The erstwhile puppet, grown great on U.S. arms, flattery and dollars threatens to fight to prevent truce terms from being carried out. Should Communists accept the terms offered, would the U.S. use its decisive military and economic power to force S. Koreans to yield? The choice is a hard one, but we brought it upon ourselves.

THE NATION (Contd.)

"Foreign Policy: Ike's or Taft's?" (editorial)

The President had to repudiate Taft. But while his rejection of the Taft position was straightforward, he showed less resolution in attacking the vicious Dirksen rider cutting off U.S. financial contribution to UN, should Communist China become a member. Weasel words are not enough. In fact, if the President's assertion of his own policy and authority is to stick, deeds will be necessary to convince his adversaries that he means business. He will have to stand firm on truce terms that Senate isolationists, along with Chiang and Rhee, do not like; do better than in the recent past in consulting with his allies and in demonstrating willingness to operate through UN. If he is to save his Administration and what it professes to stand for, he will have to fight much harder to regain ground he has lost.

"The Present Danger: The Crisis in Leadership" (editorial)

Like sleepwalkers stumbling toward a precipice, the American people are moving toward a hazard which many sense but few clearly see. The present danger is "McCarthyism." His influence, instead of diminishing, has greatly increased under the Eisenhower Admin. The Bohlen affair, VOA hearings, the clash with Mr. Attlee and many other events the last four months have changed McCarthy the Bounder into McCarthy the Serious Contender for Power. The Eisenhower Admin. does not intend to force a showdown with McCarthy. It is cunning as well as fearful: it wants McCarthy's help on the budget and other matters, and intends to use him in next year's Congressional elections, in which his influence could be decisive in Ill., Iowa, Mont., and W. Va.. To break with him would be to split the party. Nor can the President repudiate McCarthy without repudiating "McCarthyism"--the miracle-working formula which has given the right-wing coalition a new dynamism and coherence.

The Democratic leadership is not more willing than the Republican to lead a crusade against McCarthyism. Just as he cultivates his Democratic following by continuing attacks upon the Republican-directed State Dept., so McCarthy delights his Republican fans in the campaign against fellow-travelers of Thomas Jefferson, Woodrow Wilson, and F.D. Roosevelt. Now he talks of protecting "small business," he may appear as the "friend" of labor and dirt farmers. Because his appeal is bipartisan, only a bipartisan opposition stands much chance of being effective. Precisely because the large and increasing opposition cuts across every party, religious, racial, ethnic, sectional, and class interest, the existing leadership is paralyzed and some new leadership must be stimulated. The problem is not to bring new forces into being but to set existing forces in motion. Every day the danger is being widely realized; already new stirrings can be noted in the labor movement, in churches, and on campuses.

AMERICA - June 13

"Last Chance in the Middle East?" (editorial)

Sec. Dulles found his reconnaissance in the M. East "encouraging." Only concrete evidence of a changed U.S. policy as a result of his trip, however, will convince the Arab world of its success. His cordial reception indicated no more than that it is not yet too late to recover lost ground--provided our Govt. adopts a realistic M. East policy based first on realization of a psychological as well as a geographical M. East. The entire Moslem world shares common concerns. Whether we can count on the Arabs as friends and allies and, of paramount importance, on having the strategic M. East on our side depends on our recognition of those concerns.

How have we failed in the M. East? U.S. policy toward political independence of Arab peoples has been, in Mr. Dulles' words, "unnecessarily ambiguous." It has given rise to suspicion that the NATO alliance with France and Britain requires us to aid and abet colonial interests of these countries. We must favor an orderly development toward self-government in Morocco and Tunisia--make known to the Arab world and the French Govt. where our sympathies lie. Arab antagonism has its roots in more than French police states in N. Africa. The real or imagined favoritism the West showed Israel, the apparent backing of Britain in the Anglo-Iranian dispute, and the Anglo-Egyptian argument over British occupation of the Suez Canal area all intensify Arab resentment. Mr. Dulles' tour may well prove to have been America's last chance in the M. East. Unless greater sympathy for the Arab positions characterize U.S. policy, the area may be lost to the West.

SATURDAY EVENING POST - June 13

"Maybe It's Britain That's 'Gone Isolationist'!" - (editorial)

The rumpus that followed Mr. Attlee's absurd attack on the American Constitution as an "isolationist" document, has subsided. Nevertheless, the episode brought into sharp focus certain shifts in Britain's foreign policy which must disturb Americans whose reading on this subject has been confined to the more optimistic Eastern papers. Behind Attlee looms Bevan, who informed Americans that, if we want peace in Korea, we shall have to agree to disbanding of Chiang's army, and return Formosa to the Chinese Communists "to whom it belongs." Behind Sir Winston are ranged the exporting and shipping interests which regard threats of Red conquest as secondary to the nearer disaster of a poor balance sheet. Behind statesmen on both sides is a distaste for any policy carrying risk of war, plus a growing optimism as to Russian intentions.

Mr. Attlee's inept word "isolationist" fits Britain far better than it fits generous, blundering Uncle Sam. The fact is that British policy has changed little in its essentiality, which is defense of Britain's national interests. Just as the French, while

SATURDAY EVENING POST (Contd.)

welcoming U.S. aid in Indochina, have no intention of letting the UN horn in on the affair, so Britain now makes plain that she intends to play her own hand--to take the trade and let the ideology go. Mr. Churchill reminded us, in case we feel let down, that it was against British advice that Americans let the Russians into Berlin in 1945--making the crisis no easier. Well, touche!

Perhaps we owe Attlee something for stating the issue in such provocative terms as to make it unlikely that American appeasers will get anywhere. We also have national interests which require protection, certainly entitled to consider our own security and strategic future as well as the convenience and prosperity of British traders. If forced to take greater account of these interests and to re-examine our more cock-eyed global commitments, who can say that results would be altogether bad? Certainly a UN in which the paralyzing influence of Red Russia has been augmented by Red China would hardly be worth the dues. Such membership would be no compensation for collapse of our strategic front in Asia. These are matters which need to be set straight.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT - June 12

"Korea's Troubles--Bound to Grow"

After 3 years of war, Korea now is a bigger mess than ever. Nothing is coming out of the peace camp at Panmunjom to change basic factors that started the shooting. U.S. running up its own bills after 3 years of fighting, finds it has put in more than \$20-billion in money and goods, suffered 135,000 casualties and tied up much of its armed strength for Korea. The Koreans, themselves, have suffered millions of casualties and watched damage pile up into the billions. And their problems are just as big now as when the Communists attacked. Danger of a new and bigger war is to hold on because nobody in Korea really accepts the idea of a country divided. Each side wants unity--but on its own terms. In this situation, any truce is a calculated risk. U.S. may cut down somewhat on military aid to S. Korea in future, but U.S. troops will be on hand so long as Chinese are in the North. There is no prospect now that U.S. can reduce its economic aid to Korea. So far the UN has pumped nearly half a billion into Korea's civilian economy, most of it from the U.S. Less than \$60-million has been committed to reconstruction where devastation is officially estimated at \$3-billion. Continued aid for S. Korea looks essential so long as the country is divided.

The Korean man in the street has survived 3 years of war with surprisingly good morale. But once the Korean people get the idea that peace is really on the way, grumblings over privations are bound to increase. There is danger that politics in the South will touch off a drive to reunite the country that might bring renewed fighting. This problem is to be even more acute in the



U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT (Contd.)

Republic of Korea Army, already a factor in Korean politics. For the time being, U.S. and Russia can keep things under control. But there will be tension along the border between N. and S. Korea while peace negotiations drag on. Thus Korea will remain for years a danger area where anything can happen. A truce isn't to solve much of anything as a long-range proposition.

THE FREEMAN - June 15

"The Fortnight" - (editorial)

The reason Sen. Taft's speech on forgetting the UN in the Korean War provoked such violent reaction is not that it was so silly that it could be dismissed, as critics pretended, but that it was so sensible and persuasive that they were forced to reply mainly by misrepresentation and abuse. To listen to Taft critics, one would think he had thrown a reckless monkey-wrench into a situation that had been approaching an ideal solution. Yet the U.S. negotiators were preparing to accept ignominious peace terms proposed by Chinese Communist enemies. Sen. Taft's real crime, apparently, was to say out loud what millions of Americans have privately concluded--that whatever high hopes may once have been built on it, the UN as it is organized and functions today is not an instrument that promotes either justice or peace. Mr. Herbert Hoover put forward a proposal in April 1950 that the UN be re-organized without the Communist nations in it. If impractical, then a definite New United Front should be organized of those who disavow communism, who stand for morals and religion, and who love freedom.

"Is Western Unity Possible?" - (editorial)

The best argument for necessity of a top level U.S.-British-French conference is the recent Pravda article denouncing the idea. The article indicates that the Soviet peace offensive is phoney. There is not a single concession or proposal which seems calculated to abate tension. Unfortunately Soviet divisive tactics have received some encouragement from rifts between U.S. on one side and Great Britain and France on the other. It would be abysmal folly for the Western powers to enter into any conference with the USSR until every effort has been made to close these rifts and present to Moscow a solid united front. Churchill's govt. has not broken off diplomatic relations with Peiping. This means that a truce in Korea will let loose a Pandora's box of difficulties, e.g., admission of the Peiping regime of the UN and disposition of Formosa.

If China has been the chief apple of discord in U.S. and British foreign policy, Germany is a serious stumbling block to U.S.-French relations. A Western conference would be a suitable occasion for finding out what our trans-Atlantic friends really want. They cannot expect to produce much impression on American public opinion by first damning us for isolationism and then refusing to back us up when we make a full contribution to the common

THE FREEMAN (Contd.)

cause of security against aggression. Another glaring contradiction is that Europeans say that, in event of war, they want to be "defended, not liberated." How is this to be reconciled with the dismal failure to get on with the European army hanging fire in its third year? In the field of economics Europeans have a case when they call for "trade, not aid." Protectionism is an obsolete and harmful doctrine for a country of America's industrial power and maturity. If the Swiss can make better watches and the British offer cheaper turbines, American consumers should benefit. But the import quota, prohibitions and exchange controls which still prevail in Europe are a far greater obstacle to restoration of a free competitive world economy than any U.S. tariffs.

The Bermuda conference should afford opportunity to thresh out some divergent political and economic issues and learn if a firm Western front can be established in event of a conference with the USSR. Without this such a conference could turn into a greater debacle than Yalta.

"Answer to Neutralism" - (editorial)

Sec. Dulles for the first time pointed to the great problem confronting U.S. policy, neutralism, when, in support of foreign aid he stated that there are non-Communist elements in the Western world eager to take power upon a platform of appeasement of Soviet communism or a benevolent neutrality toward it. Both the Voice of America and most of its critics are badly equipped to tackle the problem. VOA tries to persuade people this side of the iron curtain that the Western way of life is preferable, that U.S. means what it says. Many who are convinced are not willing to draw the conclusions U.S. policy wants them to draw. They are not convinced that the way to escape the menace is to fight it and unite for this fight. They believe the best way to escape the horrors of war is not to tease the bear, but to have U.S. and Russia fight it out while they sit back. Today even the example of resistance given by Poland is not encouraging: Poland was neither defended nor liberated.

Such attitudes create the real issue today and VOA cannot meet it. Propaganda and psychological warfare are not the whole answer. Nor is foreign aid. Advocates of neutralism in Asia and Europe are optimistic that they can find a way in which U.S. help will not stop and Russian aggression will not begin. There is no substitute for what Sec. Dulles calls "positive leadership." Much realistic thinking and analysis is required. U.S. has the answer to the ultimate question of democracy and dictatorship. Unless the world is convinced that it also has some positive answers, neutralism will spread. Just being anti-Communist is not enough.

THE NEW LEADER - June 8

"Dulles in India" - G.S. Bhargava

Both Americans and Indians expect far-reaching consequences from Sec. Dulles' visit to India. It was as timely as it was significant. Nevertheless, facts do not warrant expectation of any spectacular decisions. Americans who expect India, as a result of the visit, to give up her middle-of-the-road foreign policy for complete alignment with U.S. ask too much, as do those Indians who look forward to unending U.S. aid in ever larger amounts. Sec. Dulles made a good impression on the people he met. He is, no doubt, a hard-hitting politician, who does not mince words when occasion demands. He is practical. He does not attempt to be unduly reasonable; on the contrary, he tries to bring the other party round to his point of view.

In his broadcast over the All-India Radio, Sec. Dulles said that his visit would help "us better to understand the spirit of India. This knowledge will, in its turn, help the U.S. to make a better foreign policy." Such sentiments will delight any patriotic Indian. At a press conference, Sec. Dulles underscored India's faith in the democratic way of life and said he was convinced that this country was not a neutral in the conflict between democracy and totalitarianism. This was a happy statement aptly put. There is a greater unanimity of opinion between India and America on a variety of issues than is generally realized, and Sec. Dulles' visit has helped to highlight this unanimity on fundamental objectives.

"Taft's Two Policies" - (editorial)

There is a myth afoot that Sen. Taft's and Pres. Eisenhower's foreign policy are at loggerheads, reinforced by Pres. Eisenhower's rejection of Sen. Taft's go-it-alone stand. Examination of the Senator's latest utterance reveals, however, that it reflects the true state of mind of the GOP--and, to some extent, of the Administration. He called the UN action in Korea "abortive"--a rather grudging concession that it did, after all, act; then declared his belief in UN, but not as an effective means to prevent aggression. He admits having always been a skeptic on the subject of the military practicability of NATO. Fundamentally, Taft is opposed to any form of international collaboration, new or old. He no longer attacks the idea of internationalism, but always its practice.

He believes the European continent would be almost impossible to defend in case of sudden Russian attack. If impossible to defend, why recommend that its "defense...be undertaken by those who occupy W. Europe"? Surely, if the U.S. and W. Europe together cannot become strong enough to resist Russia, Europe cannot alone. The ultimate conclusion that seems to emerge from the Taft thesis--and this is actually being practiced by the Republicans--is to cut down drastically all foreign aid as sheer waste. Taft and the GOP want a league of nations but will do nothing to build one. They want to defend Europe but will not

THE NEW LEADER (Contd.)

take the necessary measures to do so. They want the U.S. to be strong but will deny the funds needed to make us strong. They want to meet Soviet aggression but will refuse to do so on land or in the air. When Sen. Taft urged two different kinds of tolerance, he really meant "two different kinds of policies."

BARRON'S - June 8

"The World at Work"

Truce in Korea may be near. If so, it will be the strangest armistice ever experienced by this country. Always before, a cessation of fighting has been cause for universal rejoicing. In this case, there will be no occasion for national hat-tossing. Enemy air fields will be moved down to Allied lines; Korea will remain divided; POWs, who do not choose to return to N. Korea or China, will not be released into immediate freedom, but will be subjected to considerable pressure to go back. The Eisenhower Admin. will have begun to liquidate an impossible stalemate, but it will be far from attaining a respectable policy for preventing further spread of Communism throughout Asia. An important step toward formulating such a policy was taken by Sen. Taft last week when he clarified his famous Cincinnati speech regarding the UN. He favors building in the Pacific a defensive alliance against Russia comparable to the NATO which guards Europe. Taft made clear that he believes the keystone of this defensive system should be an alliance between this country and Great Britain. Taft's statement is in line with his long-standing view that U.S.-British solidarity, in which both countries would retain large freedom of action, is the key to maintaining world order.

THE COMMONWEAL - June 12

"Going it Alone" - (Week by Week)

The rising influence of a new U.S. isolationism disturbs many Europeans. There is Sen. Taft's declaration that if truce talks fail we should cut away from the UN. 2) Senate committee approval of a rider withholding all U.S. contributions to UN, should Red China gain admission. 3) Failure of Congress to vote funds already authorized for the UN Children's Fund. It is also predicated that the Senate Judiciary Comm. will report favorably on the Bricker Amendment, limiting treaty-making power of the President. It is widely believed that if Pres. Eisenhower would throw down the gauntlet to the isolationists he would have the great majority of Americans behind him. Now, the opposition has too many key posts on various Congressional committees. Without a big upsurge of mail from home in response to a major message from the President emphasizing his views on foreign policy, isolationist forces in House and Senate can count on a very large vote.

We need to be reminded that our whole defense strategy against Soviet expansion is dependent on U.S. air bases within

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THE COMMONWEAL (Contd.)

range of Russia's industry and military centers; that we are dependent on many countries for certain key raw materials; that the fall of W. Europe would threaten the very existence of U.S. Our Allies in Europe look for reassurance that we are all together in defense. A single press conference is not enough to hearten anxious friends and colleagues in the task of mutual defense. That is the challenge now confronting the President and soon to confront American, French and British leaders in Bermuda.

"The Mechanics and the Gardeners" - (Week by Week)

Pres. Eisenhower is basically a gardener in his approach to global questions, i.e., he believes that he can merely cultivate the ground. But the mechanics, those who think a foreign policy can be put together like an automobile, are growing increasingly influential in national affairs with danger that they may block the President's control of foreign policy, and he may lose his chance of influencing the world as it actually is. The vote to withdraw U.S. financial support from the UN in case Red China is admitted amounted to a decision to impose a death penalty on UN if it should ever act contrary to American desires in this matter. The vote was typical of the mechanics' approach to foreign affairs. One Senator has warned against such an invasion of the Executive's rights in this vote. His concern should be shared by all those who, believing that foreign policy, like politics, is essentially an art of the possible, are troubled by such attacks. There is no doubt about the American people's opposition to the Peiping govt.'s being allowed to "shoot its way into the UN." Unluckily, we cannot vote that govt. out of being, nor pretend that it does not exist. How to cope with it will depend on historical contingencies, but the mechanics' attempt to tie America's future policy, in this or other matters, to the blueprint of a world which does not exist is worse than irresponsible. Rooted in folly, the end is disaster. Wash. needs fewer mechanics and many more gardeners.

"Syngman Rhee" - (Week by Week)

Whatever decision is made in truce proposals, it is worth examining why 80-year old Rhee speaks as he does; worth recalling that after an initial decision to repel aggression, the UN decided to make its goal the unification of Korea. Korea spent 40 years under the Japanese. Among the few Koreans given opportunity to study, Rhee got an M.A. at Harvard and a Ph. D. at Princeton. For 33 years he was an exile. Since end of W. War II he has been a one-man govt. The country is administered, for all practical purposes, by 200,000 policemen. This intractable old nationalist says he is a tyrant by order of the people who elected him. He has allowed no other leaders to emerge. But in chaos he has upheld at least the structure of democracy. Now he thinks he has a chance to unify his country, to make the whole of it independent for the first time in 50 years. So he plays what cards that his army commanders are likely to obey Eight Army rather

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THE COMMONWEAL (Contd.)

than ROK directives; that his people could not fight alone. But he gambles for the last, and biggest, stake. And if the UN must call his bluff, and override him in this, it is well that we recognize what we are doing, and at least pay respect to the single-minded little nationalist who brought the seeds of freedom to Korea.

NEWSWEEK - June 15

"After the Truce" - Ernest K. Lindley

No one is wise enough to foresee whether the armistice in Korea will prove to be a sound decision or a blunder. Clearly it will give Communists immediate benefits and open the way for still greater gains. Within Korea itself, the Communists will gain important military advantages. The truce will relieve Russian and Chinese Communists of serious economic drain. It will bring to the front questions on which the free world is sharply divided and, at the same time, tend to lull it into stopping rearmament before a prudent minimum of security has been attained. To indicate advantages which a truce will give Communists does not prove the decision wrong. It can be safeguarded by a warning that if it is violated, we will not confine war to Korea. Moreover, we cannot consent to a settlement which leaves Korea divided. We are entering a period of difficult negotiation made more difficult by differences within the free world and by the general trend back to complacency. To emerge from this without serious loss will require not only good judgement but resolution and, above all, resolution to continue to build up our military strength.

"Huge Turnout at Italian Polls"

In the Italian elections the Communists attacked the honesty and efficiency of De Gasperi's govt. by harping on the report of F.C. Crawford, Cleveland, Ohio, manufacturer, to the Senate Foreign Relations Comm. that none of the \$3.5-billion of U.S. aid to Italy has made "any permanent improvement." Both Communists and neo-Fascists found ammunition for an appeal to Italian pride in a speech by Amb. Clare Boothe Luce, which they claimed was a threat to cut off aid if the Christian Democrats were beaten. Mrs. Luce had said: "If...the Italian people should fall the unhappy victims to the wiles of...totalitarianism of right and left, there would follow...grave consequences for this...cooperation we now enjoy." The Red newspaper Il Paesio replied with an open letter.

"The Periscope"

Vacuum? --London diplomats are privately complaining that absence of a competent Foreign Sec. is hampering preparations for the Bermuda conference. Eden usually is counted on to evolve an orderly foreign policy and persuade Churchill to adopt it. In his absence, policy is purely Churchillian--brilliant, dramatic, but full of hidden dangers. His policy is a matter of touch and instinct--often excellent, but not always infallible in a man of his age.

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NEWSWEEK - (Cont'd)

Pressure - Some insiders believe that Soviet Amb. Malik in his talk with Mr. Churchill urged abandoning the Bermuda meeting altogether. They believe Malik urged a Four Power meeting without a prior conference among the Western Powers. These sources profess to have noted a cooling off of Churchill's enthusiasm for the Bermuda meeting ever since. The French domestic crisis could be offered as excuse to postpone the conference indefinitely.

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Under-the-Table Notes - Usually reliable sources have it that Moscow is on the point of offering cheap Russian steel to W. Europeans to undermine the Schuman Plan steel pool...Meanwhile a group of key Ruhr industrialists is staging an undercover campaign for a big deal with Russia...A Soviet mission soon will leave to conclude negotiations for a trade agreement with Argentina.

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"Significance: Now it's the Diplomats' Fight"

China Trade: One of the chief reasons China wants an armistice is undoubtedly the need to re-open trade with the West and in particular to obtain capital goods for the Communist industrialization program. For weeks, Red papers in Hong Kong have been campaigning for relaxation of Western trade curbs. This campaign will be taken up in Britain immediately after conclusion of an armistice, and it will be next to impossible for U.S. to combat it. Japan may be ever more difficult to deal with than Britain, so far as trade with China is concerned. The Japanese have been riding a wave of false prosperity based largely on \$800-million spent each year in Japan by the U.S. armed forces. It will not take much to bring about an economic collapse in Japan. Then the already heavy pressure to expand trade with China would become irresistible.

CHRISTIAN CENTURY - June 10

"Mrs. Luce and the Cardinal Exhort the Italians." (editorial)

However the Italian election turns out, some attention must be paid to the manner in which two prominent Americans "injected" themselves into the campaign, for their actions may have "important consequences." Mrs. Luce, in effect told the Italians they could either keep the Catholic Action party in power or face the prospect of seeing U.S. aid cut off. Since no speech of this importance could have been made without approval of State Dept., the long-range result will be to strengthen all Italian political groups who resent the U.S. Cardinal Spellman launched, through the parishes of his archdiocese, an appeal for letters urging the Italians not to vote for Communists. The "notable" thing is that, unlike Mrs. Luce, he did not instruct them to call for votes against the monarchical and neo-fascist candidates. Yet it is the Communists that presents the greatest threat to the de Gasperi govt.

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TIME - June 15

"Indonesia"

In a strange, remote country, a cabinet falls. The name of the departing Premier is Wilopo. Probable next step: a govt. which will include Communists. There was no U.S. ambassador to report on developments in Indonesia last week. Offended by the reception given to its proffered aid and advice, the U.S. has lost some of its interest in the country which owes its existence largely to U.S. The Communists, exploiting anti-Western feeling, were moving in. The Indonesians had not yet realized that they were losing a friend and gaining an enemy.

LIFE - June 15

"An Issue Which Has 49,000 Parts" - John Osborne

The 26-point "prisoner of war agreement" signed at Panmunjom by no means settles a question that has plagued the U.S. command and pricked the American conscience since the early days of the Korean war. This is a question that is split into 49,000 parts--each part a "friendly" N. Korean or Chinese POW who has openly stated that he does not want to return to his Communist-run country. Even while turning over these men to a commission of "neutrals" appointed by the UN the U.S. cannot evade the moral responsibility undertaken when we pledged our word to safeguard those who gambled their lives against their desire to be on our side.

It is readily evident at the camps of those thousands who have decided not to go back that they mean to hold to that choice. But they are not convinced that some day, somewhere, they will be released as free men. Pres. Eisenhower says they can count on it. The POWs, however, remain unsure and afraid. At the camps of the Kojima Island group and on the mainland, alternate friendliness and hatred are found. And at all of them there is a wall between the keepers and the kept--a wall of simple human misunderstanding. It is the wall that stands everywhere in Asia between America and its friends, and between America and its enemies too. Nowhere in Asia have we had the chance to study that wall, and finally breach it, that we have had at the prison camp. Nowhere has our failure, on the whole, been more apparent than at the Chinese camps on Cheju island.

LOOK - June 16

"Joe McCarthy: The Man With the Power" - Wm. S. White

Highly placed and sophisticated men arriving in Wash. from abroad--not excepting cabinet ministers--often ask anxiously about McCarthy before inquiring about the President of the U.S. As reflected in Wash., foreign opinion of him is summed up in two words: amazement, fear. Bureaucratic opinion, held by officials and senior employees of the Federal Govt., is similar: resignation. Approved For Release 2001/03/01 : CIA-RDP58-00453R000200170002-4 way lessened during the first months of the new Administration.



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LOOK - (Cont'd)

While the Senate's confirmation of C.H. Bohlen, over McCarthy opposition, was happily interpreted by many as "putting McCarthy in his place," that interpretation was more wishful than real. The vote for Bohlen did nothing to defeat, humiliate or even check McCarthy. Senate rejection of a personal appointment by a popular President would have been unthinkable, but Bohlen's value to the Administration has plainly been greatly diminished. His slightest miscue in Russia will bring a torrent of damaging Senate "I told you so's."

Quite possibly the Administration will find that in the Bohlen episode it has won a small battle at the risk of losing a fairly big war: over the unhampered conduct of foreign policy. Clearly the right of the President to make personal nominations without prior consultation with the Senate has been effectively challenged. When McCarthy transfers his attack from Acheson to the present State Dept. he is not much troubled by party considerations. The most plausible speculation is that his present aim is to continue to alter the news, actions and tone of the Republican party. He wants to be a power behind the throne, possibly of some future President.

NEW REPUBLIC - June 15

"After The Truce--The Terms for Peace" - (editorial)

At last the Communists have accepted UN terms in the POW agreement. Syngman Rhee's opposition is not to the agreement but to an armistice which accepts division of Korea. Here, he exceeds the purposes of the UN. If, despite Rhee, the truce is won, then in the true sense it will be a victory for UN. The war aim of UN is achieved. This nation found and kept the courage demanded for a war fought far away and for a principle. Now a different kind of courage is demanded for us in asking what are the principles that we fought for? Confronted as we are, by a political conference for a Pacific settlement, the question becomes what kind of UN, and what peace is the UN to enforce? Now once more, debate of the most searching nature is necessary to determine where our national interest lies.

The U.S. cannot afford the luxury of pure negation on the issue of China at UN. If we show understanding, our allies will not press for the seating of the Communist Govt. without declaring the conditions under which that major step can lead toward peace. These terms concern first Korea's future. The UN will betray its own victory if it fails to provide guarantees of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Korea as it exists today. It may in return provide assurances against any effort by the Republic to unify Korea by military means. Until Chinese Communists are ready to underwrite these basic terms of peace, they have no place in the UN.

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NEW REPUBLIC (Contd)

The U.S. may demand separate assurances from the Chinese on Indochina. But we can hardly expect UN to stake its conduct toward China on the outcome of a colonial struggle in which the French refuse to admit that UN has any interests or rights. If Indochina is to be placed on the peace agenda, then it should first be brought before UN. In Formosa, U.S. should withdraw by easy stages just as we withdrew from recognition of the Vichy regime as govt. of France. 2) U.S. can declare that it will not permit Formosa to be governed by any regime subordinate to Moscow. 3) We can extend to Chiang de facto recognition as ruler of territory which he governs. In this way, leaving open the question of China's representation at UN, we can set the conditions for its realization which other free nations will accept as reasonable and constructive. If we are willing to negotiate the underlying issue, the rearmament of Japan, then we may win a real accommodation with Russia and China in the Pacific. But if we cannot reach a settlement with our enemies we can at least prevent an open and disastrous break with our friends.

"Rebuilding The Tariff Wall"

The President began to lose his "fight" for a realistic trade policy when he requested a simple one-year extension of the already hamstrung RTA Act. Now the strongest and best coordinated high-tariff lobby to hit Wash. in a decade has won another crucial battle. The President agreed to support the revised Simpson bill which would change the Tariff Commission from a non-partisan to a partisan body by increasing it from six to seven members, four of whom may be from the same political party. Once this bill has established a partisan Trade Commission, Simpson has another which makes the recommendations of the Commission binding on the President. Rep. Simpson, moreover, boasts that in return for withdrawal of the original bludgeon-bill, the President promised to make no more trade agreements for one year. This at a time when the Communist nations are preaching economic independence to Western nations and backing up their words with attractive trade offers involving exactly those items most affected by U.S. trade barriers. Trade agreements, even luke warm ones still possible under a mutilated act, are the means to counter this latest Communist gambit. But we will make none for a year.

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